1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

233 556 311 On the other hand, ranching is a prestige activity; the rancher almost invariably is an influential and relatively wealthy member of the local community. As such, he may command for grazing purposes land which would be more profitable to the owner and to the whole economy if it were under cultivation.

231 Livestock Production. The large livestock animals which are important to the Recôncavo--cattle, asses, mules, horses, sheep, and goats--are primarily the products of ranching enterprises, i.e., livestoc fazendas. Many of these animals are bred in the Sertão west and northwes of the Recôncavo and brought into the region as young stock ready for use as labor animals, as milk producers, or as mature animals ready for fattening and slaughter. However, there is some basic livestock production within the Recôncavo, especially in the outer ring of municípios. Here livestock are raised under conditions basically similar to those of the Sertão.

233 The cattle fazenda is a grazing enterprise in which the reproduction of the herd is uncontrolled; there is no selective breeding. Vaqueiros (cowboys) are employed to hold and to move the herds over vast distances. From time to time the young bulls are emasculated, and [232] as they approach maturity, these oxen are usually driven to the Recôncavo. The remaining cattle are held until maturity and then driven across the Sertão to Feira de Santana. The characteristic cattle fazenda exists in a modified form in the Recôncavo. Since the land for grazing is more restricted, the herds are smaller, and sometimes the grazing area is fenced. Second growth is the basic forage, though, as has been seen, grass here plays a relatively more important [232] role than in the Sertão. There have been a few attempts to breed selectively in the Recôncavo.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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politan areas even then—as we have pointed out above, there has scarcely been anything like a "middle class," to help individuals from the lower ranks cross over this "gulf." One should also recall that during the colonial period and long thereafter rural properties were extensively in the hands of the dominant class, so that the means of wealth in a predominantly agricultural country, except as it derived from a comparatively low scale of wages, from share cropping, or from small holdings (particularly in São Paulo and Minas Gerais), were largely out of the reach of all persons in the lower and intermediate ranks, whatever their color. This situation presented an almost insuperable problem to slaves and their descendants, who began competing in a free society with slender or no financial resources, minus, in most cases, even the occupational skills possessed by many immigrants, without even a "foot" on or even near the "ladder," so to speak. It also required Herculean effort to educate themselves or their children under conditions of an inadequate school system even for the upper ranks, to acquire skills, and to improve their personal and occupational competence so as to obtain the ability to compete, without which it would be impossible to rise. The basic problem in this respect therefore, has been—and still is—an *economic* and *educational* problem, not a racial problem at all. William L. Schurz (106) sees it as a "time lag."

Some authors point to the use of the derogatory term "*mulatto pernóstico*" (p. 230 of this book) as indicative of race, or at least color, prejudice. However, Thales de Azevedo more correctly reminds us (1955a:60) that the disapproval and even at times hostility revealed in the use of this term is not directed against the mulattoes as a group at all. Instead, the judgments involved are applied to certain individuals, *as*

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

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servant, sailor, farmer, and shoe-shiner. Of the 30 females, 23 were classified as students, 2 as teachers, 2 as housewives, and 1 each as street peddler, domestic servant, and government clerk.

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Inferences based upon this occupational distribution, together with certain other indices (such as tax returns, automobile ownership, the purchase of different-priced seats at cinemas and sport events), indicate that blacks and the darker mixed-bloods ordinarily occupy the lower economic levels, the medium and light mulattoes the middle position, and the whites (including the *brancos da Bahia*) the upper stratum.

[556] •

A Bahian official engaged in income-tax collections knew of no rich blacks in the city,[4] but he did know of several well-to-do mixed-bloods, among whom were a few dark mulattoes. Most incomes in the upper brackets, however, are those of whites.

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Of 116 cars being driven along the central thoroughfare, the Rua Chile, during a popular festival, in 90, or 77.6 per cent of the total, only whites were riding; in 26, or 22.4 per cent, mixed-bloods were among the occupants;[5] while no cars were occupied by blacks. However, on a similar occasion, of 50 cars noted, 2 were occupied exclusively by blacks.

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At a cinema performance, of 63 persons occupying *poltronas* at 2$200 a seat, 73 per cent were whites, 20.6 per cent

[4] Although at Ilhéos in the rich cocoa area south of Bahia a few blacks and dark mulattoes are quite well to do. For a sketch of life in this region see Jorge Amado, *Cacau* (Rio, 1933).

[5] The 6 cars in which only mulattoes were riding constituted 5.2 per cent of the total (only 1 car was occupied by dark mulattoes); the 19 cars in which both whites and mulattoes were riding constituted 16.3 per cent of the total (3 cars were occupied principally by *brancos da Bahia*, 16 by whites, with only one or two light mulattoes in each case); 1 car (0.9 per cent of the total) contained one black and five dark mulattoes.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

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793 outcome of some projected action; and also the office of a *curandeiro*, who diagnoses ailments and prescribes cures. He may minister to a clientele even outside the members of the *seita*, giving advice and counsel on matters of business, politics, love, etc.

794 Disputes between members of the *seita* are ordinarily sub-
793 mitted for adjudication to the *pae* or *mãe de santo*. Persua-
627 sion is at first employed. But if this proves unsuccessful, the priest orders each of the disputants to wash his particular fetish, upon which, with rare exceptions, acceptance of mediation is secured. The settling of the dispute is then celebrated by each party to the quarrel drinking from the water
[688] in which the other's fetish has been washed. Continuance of the altercation will break the implied promise to the *orixá* and render the offender liable to punishment, which is ordinarily death.

794 The *pae* or *mãe de santo* may also exercise the function of
793 a *feiticeiro* and deal in black magic. But this occupation is
754 disclaimed by several of the more prominent priests and priestesses, who refuse to countenance deeds designed to do harm to their fellow-men. It appears to be exercised more often by heads of the recently organized and "less careful" *caboclo seitas*.[1]

794 Age, number of years a member of the cult, intimate
793 knowledge of the ritual, and, particularly, purity of African
554 descent are important considerations in determining the prestige of a *pae* or *mãe de santo*.

For some reason male members of the *seita* rarely experi-

[556] [1] A *pae de santo* of a *caboclo candomblé* who is widely feared for his success in working black magic possesses a considerable bank account, numerous properties in the city, and rich cocoa land near Ilhéos, all acquired, it is said, from the exercise of this profession. However, it is quite probable that his political activity contributed a goodly portion.

[SALVADOR]

/103 cont./ In principle
*563 anyone at all may elevate himself socially by wealth, by his
655 intellectual merits, by his professional titles, by his moral qualities,
•[556] or by a combination of these elements, by virtue of the system of values of a capitalist society. In their ascent toward the higher classes, however, colored people encounter resistance, due in part to the influence of the prejudices of which we have spoken, but also because of the fact that for the most part they belong to classes that economically are at the bottom of the social hierarchy.

The social ascent of colored people, however, is relatively frequent, and there are numerous examples of it. As a group,
*563 however, colored people also rise, but with difficulty. It is
565 sufficient, in order to get a clear idea of this, to compare the dis-
555 tribution of the different ethnic types that are encountered in
/104/ Brazil in the groupings and organizations that symbolize
162 the upper classes:
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	Whites		"Pardos"		Blacks	
	%	Indices	%	Indices	%	Indices
In the total population	33	100	47	100	20	100
Religious brotherhoods	82	240	18	38	--	--
Liberal professions (1)	76	230	22	46	2	10
Clubs	67	200	33	70	--	--

1. Average of various liberal professions.

*563 As may be seen, none of the above groups constitutes a sample
565 representative of the total population, which proves, in fact,
555 that the different types still do not have the possibility of advancing to the higher strata. If, by basing ourselves on the
[178] descriptions of the society of Bahia in the past, we could make up a table of the same nature, we would see that "high society" and the prestige professions 50 or 80 years ago were much less mixed, although the participation of individuals of mixed blood in these groups is an old Brazilian tradition.